

MARYLAND COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

New Series.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1849.

Vol. 4.—No. 21.

“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

THE AFRICAN BLOCKADE.

WE notice in all the leading English Journals very strong indications of a change of policy in regard to the suppression of the slave trade. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the system at present pursued and which has been followed up for the past twenty years with the most indefatigable assiduity, at an immense sacrifice of life and treasure, is utterly nugatory. It is found that the system of the slave traders has been adapted to the system of their opposers, and both work most harmoniously together. What method will next be adopted to break up the traffic, on the abandonment of the blockade, is quite doubtful, but we are sure a worse one need not be apprehended. The proposition of Lieut. Jackson, in an article on the 336th page of this Journal, or something like it, seems to meet with much favor by those interested in the subject, and we doubt not some plan analogous to it will be resolved upon. Yet it strikes us as being too complicated, too theoretical, dependent upon too many contingencies. The whole operation is based upon making the coloured people, the operatives in the scheme, mere machines, and if we could make them absolutely such, no doubt the plan would be quite feasible. Mr. Jackson proposes to do what has already been done in America, viz: to civilize Africans, that they may re-act upon Africa—to establish a system, which would ultimately, in case it worked right, result in AFRICAN COLONIZATION. If like us, he had the material already prepared, his plan would stand a double chance of success. Mr. Jackson pays the following tribute of praise to our colony and the American Colonizationists. “I would rather hold up Liberia as an example to our government, than offer my own remarks; the Americans have established a colony and from that spread North and South, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, between which places slavery is now hardly known. When we look upon this handful of people, unprotected by our own government, alone and unaided, and consider what they have done, I think we may well blush at the futility of our own efforts.” We beg our abolition friends to read this extract, remembering whence it emanates.

LETTER FROM HENRY CLAY.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 17, 1819.*

DEAR SIR: Prior to my departure from home in December last, in behalf of yourself and other friends, you obtained from me a promise to make a public exposition of my views and opinions upon a grave and important question which, it was then anticipated, would be much debated and considered by the people of Kentucky, during this year, in consequence of the approaching convention, summoned to amend their present constitution. I was not entirely well when I left home, and owing to that cause, and my confinement several weeks, during my sojourn in this city, from the effects of an accident which befel me, I have been delayed in the fulfilment of my promise, which I now propose to execute.

The question to which I allude, is whether African Slavery, as it now exists in Kentucky, shall be left to a perpetual or indefinite continuance, or some provision shall be made, in the new Constitution, for its gradual and ultimate extinction?

A few general observations will suffice my present purpose, without entering on the whole subject of slavery, under all its bearings and in every aspect of it. I am aware that there are respectable persons who believe that slavery is a blessing, that the institution ought to exist in every well organized society, and that it is even favorable to the preservation of Liberty. Happily the number who entertain these extravagant opinions is not very great, and the time would be uselessly occupied in an elaborate refutation to them. I would, however, remark that, if slavery be fraught with these alleged benefits, the principle on which it is maintained would require that one portion of the white race should be reduced to bondage, to serve another portion of the same race, when black subjects of slavery could not be obtained; and that in Africa, where they may entertain as great a preference for their color as we do for ours, they would be justified in reducing the white race to slavery, in order to secure the blessings which that state is said to diffuse.

An argument, in support of reducing the African race to slavery, is sometimes derived from their alleged intellectual inferiority to the white races; but, if this argument be founded in fact, (as it may be, but which I shall not now examine,) it would prove entirely too much. It would prove that any white nation which had made greater advances in civilization, knowledge, and wisdom, than another white nation, would have a right to reduce the latter to a state of bondage. Nay, further: if the principle of subjugation founded upon intellectual superiority be true, and be applicable to races and to nations, what is to prevent its being applied to individuals? And then the wisest man in the world would have a right to make slaves of all the rest of mankind.

If indeed we possess this intellectual superiority, profoundly grateful and thankful to Him who has bestowed it, we ought to fulfil all the obligations and duties which it imposes; and these would require us not to subjugate or deal unjustly by our fellow men who are less blessed than we are, but to instruct, to improve, and to enlighten them.

A vast majority of the people of the United States, in every section of them, I believe, regret the introduction of slavery into the colonies, under the authority of our British ancestors, lament that a single slave treads our soil, deplore the necessity of the continuance of slavery in any of the States, regard the institution as a great evil to both races, and would rejoice in the adoption of any safe, just and practicable plan for the removal of all slaves from among us. Hitherto no such satisfactory plan has been presented.

When, on the occasion of the formation of our present Constitution of Kentucky, in 1799, the question of the gradual emancipation of slavery in that State, was agitated, its friends had to encounter a great obstacle, in the fact that there then existed no established colony to which they could be transported. Now, by the successful establishment of flourishing colonies on the western coast of Africa, that difficulty has been obviated. And I confess, that without indulging in any undue feelings of superstition, it does seem to me that it may have been among the dispensations of Providence to permit the wrongs under which Africa has suffered, to be inflicted, that her children might be returned to their original home, civilized, imbued with the benign spirit of Christianity, and prepared ultimately to redeem that great Continent from barbarism and idolatry.

Without undertaking to judge for any other State, it was my opinion in 1799, that Kentucky was in a condition to admit of the gradual emancipation of her slaves; and how deeply do I lament that a system with that object had not been then established. If it had been, the State would now be nearly rid of all slaves. My opinion has never changed, and I have frequently publicly expressed it. I should be most happy if what was impracticable at that epoch could now be accomplished.

After full and deliberate consideration of the subject, it appears to me that three principles should regulate the establishment of a system of gradual emancipation. The first is, that it should be slow in its operation, cautious and gradual, so as to occasion no convulsion, nor any rash or sudden disturbance in the existing habits of society. Secondly, that, as an indispensable condition, the emancipated slaves should be removed from the State to some colony. And, thirdly, that the expenses of their transportation to such colony, including an outfit for six months after their arrival at it, should be defrayed by a fund to be raised from the labor of each freed slave.

Nothing could be more unwise than the immediate liberation of all the slaves in the State, comprehending both sexes and all ages, from that of tender infancy to extreme old age. It would lead to the most frightful and fatal consequences. Any great change in the condition of society should be marked by extreme care and circumspection. The introduction of slaves into the colonies was an operation of many years duration; and the work of their removal from the United States can only be effected after the lapse of a great length of time.

I think that a period should be fixed when all born after it should be free at a specified age, all born before it remaining slaves for life. That period, I would suggest should be 1855, or even 1860; for on this and other arrangements of the system, if adopted, I incline to a liberal margin, so as to obviate as many objections and to unite as many opinions as possible. Whether the commencement of the operation of the system be a little earlier or later, it is not so important as that a day should be permanently *fixed*, from which we could look forward with confidence to the final termination of slavery within the limits of the Commonwealth.

Whatever may be the day fixed, whether 1855 or 1860, or any other day, all born after it, I suggest should be free at the age of twenty-five, but be liable afterwards to be hired out, under the authority of the State, for a term not exceeding three years, in order to raise a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of their transportation to the colony, and to provide them an outfit for six months after their arrival there.

If the descendants of those who were themselves to be free at the age of twenty-five, were also to be considered as slaves until they attained the same age, and this rule were continued indefinitely as to time, it is manifest that slavery would be perpetuated instead of being terminated. To guard

against this consequence, provision might be made that the offspring of those who were to be free at twenty-five, should be free from their birth, but upon the condition that they should be apprenticed until they were twenty-one, and be also afterwards liable to be hired out a period not exceeding three years, for the purpose of raising funds to meet the expense to the colony, and their subsistence for the first six months.

The Pennsylvania system of emancipation fixed the period of twenty-eight for the liberation of the slaves, and provided, or her courts have since interpreted the system to mean, that the issue of all who were to be free at the limited age, were from their births free. The Pennsylvania system made no provision for colonization.

Until the commencement of the system which I am endeavoring to sketch, I think all the legal rights of the proprietors of slaves, in their fullest extent, ought to remain unimpaired and unrestricted. Consequently they would have the right to sell, devise, or remove them from the State, and in the latter case, without their offspring being entitled to the benefit of emancipation, for which the system provides.

2d. The colonization of the free blacks, as they successively arrive, from year to year, at the age entitling them to freedom, I consider a condition absolutely indispensable. Without it, I should be utterly opposed to any scheme of emancipation. One hundred and ninety odd thousand blacks, composing about one-fourth of the entire population of the State, with their descendants, could never live in peace, harmony, and equality, with the residue of the population. The color, passions, and prejudices, would forever prevent the two races living together in a state of cordial union. Social, moral, and political degradation would be the inevitable lot of the colored race. Even in the free States, (I use the terms free and slave States, not in any sense derogatory from one class, or implying any superiority in the other, but for the sake of brevity,) that is their present condition. In some of those free States, the penal legislation against the people of color is quite as severe, if not harsher, than it is in some of the slave States. As nowhere in the United States are amalgamation and equality between the two races possible, it is better that there should be a separation, and that the African descendants should be returned to the native land of their fathers.

It will have been seen that the plan I have suggested proposes the annual transportation of all born after a specified day, upon their arrival at the prescribed age, to the colony which may be selected for their destination; and this process of transportation is to be continued until the separation of the two races is completed. If the emancipated slaves were to remain in Kentucky until they attained the age of twenty-eight, it would be about thirty-four years before the first annual transportation began, if the system commence in 1855, and about thirty-nine years, if its operation began in 1860.

What the number thus to be annually transported would be, cannot be precisely ascertained. I observe it stated by the auditor that the increase of slaves in Kentucky last year was between three and four thousand. But, as that statement was made upon a comparison of the aggregate number of all the slaves in the State, without regard to births, it does not, I presume, exhibit truly the *natural* increase, which was probably larger. The aggregate was affected by the introduction and still more by the exportation of slaves. I suppose that there would not be less, probably more, than five thousand to be transported the first year of the operation of the system; but after it was in progress some years, there would be a constant diminution of the number.

Would it be practicable annually to transport five thousand persons from

Kentucky? There cannot be a doubt of it, or even a much larger number. We receive from Europe annually emigrants to an amount exceeding two hundred and fifty thousand, at a cost for the passage of about ten dollars per head, and they embark at European ports more distant from the United States than the western coast of Africa. It is true that the commercial marine employed between Europe and the United States affords facilities, in the transportation of emigrants at that low rate, which that engaged in the commerce between Liberia and this country does not now supply; but that commerce is increasing, and by the time the proposed system, if adopted, would go into operation, it will have greatly augmented.

If there were a certainty of the annual transportation of not less than five thousand persons to Africa, it would create a demand for transports, and the spirit of competition would, I have no doubt, greatly diminish the present cost of the passage. That cost has been stated, upon good authority, to be at present fifty dollars per head, including the passage and six months' outfit after the arrival of the emigrant in Africa. Whatever may be the cost, and whatever the number to be transported, the fund to be raised by the hire of the liberated slave, for a period not exceeding three years, will be amply sufficient. The annual hire, on the average, may be estimated at fifty dollars, or one hundred and fifty for the whole term.

Colonization will be attended with the painful effect of the separation of the colonists from their parents, and in some instances from their children; but from the latter it will be only temporary, as they will follow, and be again reunited. Their separation from their parents will not be until after they have attained a mature age, nor greater than voluntarily takes place with emigrants from Europe, who leave their parents behind. It will be far less distressing than what frequently occurs in the state of slavery, and will be attended with the animating encouragement, that the colonists are transferred from a land of bondage and degradation for them, to a land of liberty and equality.

And 3d. The expense of transporting the liberated slave to the colony, and of maintaining him there for six months, I think ought to be provided for by a fund derived from his labor, in the manner already indicated. He is the party most benefited by emancipation. It would not be right to subject the non-slaveholder to any part of that expense; and the slaveholder will have made sufficient sacrifices, without being exclusively burdened with taxes to raise that fund. The emancipated slaves could be hired out for the time proposed, by the sheriff, or other public agent, in each county, who should be subject to strict accountability. And it would be requisite that there should be kept a register of all births of all children of color, after the day fixed for the commencement of the system, enforced by appropriate sanctions. It would be a very desirable regulation of law, to have the births, deaths, and marriages, of the whole population of the State, registered and preserved, as is done in most well-governed States.

Among other considerations which unite in recommending to the State of Kentucky a system for the gradual abolition of slavery is that arising out of her exposed condition, affording great facilities to the escape of her slaves into the free States and into Canada. She does not enjoy the security which some of the slave States have, by being covered in depth by two or three slave States intervening between them and free States. She has a greater length of border on free States than any other slave State in the Union. That border is the Ohio river, extending from the mouth of the Big Sandusky to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance of near six hundred miles, separating her from the already powerful and growing States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Vast numbers of slaves have fled from most of the counties in Kentucky, from the mouth of Big Sandy to the mouth of the Miami, and the evil has increased and is increasing. Attempts to recover the fugitives lead to the most painful and irritating collisions. Hitherto, countenance and assistance to the fugitives have been chiefly afforded by persons in the State of Ohio; but it is to be apprehended, from the progressive opposition to slavery, that, in process of time, similar facilities to the escape of slaves will be found in the States of Indiana and Illinois. By means of railroads, Canada can be reached from Cincinnati in a little more than twenty-four hours.

In the event of a civil war breaking out, or in the more direful event of a dissolution of the Union, in consequence of the existence of slavery, Kentucky would become the theatre and bear the brunt of the war. She would doubtless defend herself with her well known valor and gallantry; but the superiority of the numbers by which she would be opposed would lay waste and devastate her fair fields. Her sister slave States would fly to her succor; but, even if they should be successful in the unequal conflict, she never could obtain any indemnity for the inevitable ravages of the war.

It may be urged that we ought not, by the gradual abolition of slavery, to separate ourselves from the other slave States, but continue to share with them in all their future fortunes. The power of each slave State, within its limits, over the institution of slavery, is absolute, supreme, and exclusive—exclusive of that of Congress or that of any other State. The Government of each slave State is bound, by the highest and most solemn obligations, to dispose of the question of slavery so as best to promote the peace, happiness, and prosperity, of the people of the State. Kentucky being essentially a farming State, slave labor is less profitable.

If, in most of the other slave States, they find that labor more profitable in the culture of the staples of cotton and sugar, they may perceive a reason in that feeling for continuing slavery, which it cannot be expected should control the judgment of Kentucky, as to what may be fitting and proper for her interests. If she should abolish slavery, it would be her duty, and I trust that she would be as ready as she now is, to defend the slave States in the enjoyment of all their lawful and constitutional rights. Her power, political and physical, would be greatly increased; for the one hundred and ninety odd thousand slaves, and their descendants, would be gradually superseded by an equal number of white inhabitants, who would be estimated per capita, and not by the federal rule of three-fifths prescribed for the colored race in the Constitution of the United States.

I have thus, without reserve, freely expressed my opinion and presented my views. The interesting subject of which I have treated, would have admitted of much enlargement, but I have desired to consult brevity. The plan which I have proposed will hardly be accused of being too early in its commencement or too rapid in its operation. It will be more likely to meet with contrary reproaches. If adopted it is to begin thirty-four or thirty-nine years from the time of its adoption, as the one period or the other shall be selected for its commencement. How long a time it will take to remove all the colored race from the State, by the annual transportation of each year's natural increase, cannot be exactly ascertained. After the system had been in operation some years, I think it probable, from the manifest blessings that would flow from it, from the diminished value of slave labor, and from the humanity and benevolence of private individuals prompting a liberation of their slaves and their transportation, a general disposition would exist to accelerate and complete the work of colonization.

That the system will be attended with some sacrifices on the part of the slaveholders, which are to be regretted, need not be denied. What great

and beneficial enterprise was ever accomplished without risk and sacrifice? But these sacrifices are distant, contingent, and inconsiderable. Assuming the year 1860 for the commencement of the system, all slaves born prior to that time would remain such during their lives, and the personal loss of the slaveholder would be only the difference in value of a female slave whose offspring, if she had any, born after the first day of Janury, 1860, should be free at the age of twenty-five, or should be slaves for life.

In the mean time, if the right to remove or sell the slave out of the State should be exercised, that trifling loss would not be incurred. The slaveholder, after the commencement of the system, would lose the difference in value between slaves for life, and slaves until the age of twenty-five. He might also incur some inconsiderable expense in rearing, from their birth, the issue of those who were to be free at twenty-five, until they were old enough to be apprenticed out; but as it is probable that they would be most generally bound to him, he would receive some indemnity for their services until they attained their majority.

Most of the evils, losses, and misfortunes of human life have some compensation or alleviation. The slaveholder is generally a landholder, and I am persuaded that he would find, in the augmented value of his land, some, if not full indemnity for losses arising to him from emancipation and colonization. He would also liberally share in the general benefits, accruing to the whole State, from the extinction of slavery. These have been so often and so fully stated, that I will not, nor is it necessary to dwell upon them extensively. They may be summed up in a few words. We shall remove from among us the contaminating influences of a servile and degraded race, of different color; we shall enjoy the proud and conscious satisfaction of placing that race where they can enjoy the great blessings of liberty, and civil, political, and social equality; we shall acquire the advantage of the diligence, the fidelity, and the constancy, of free labor, instead of the carelessness, the infidelity, and the unsteadiness, of slave labor; we shall elevate the character of white labor, and elevate the social character of the white laborer; augment the value of our lands, improve the agriculture of the State, attract capital from abroad to all the pursuits of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; redressed, as far and as fast as we prudently could, any wrongs which the descendants of Africa have suffered at our hands; and we should demonstrate the sincerity with which we pay indiscriminate homage to the great cause of the liberty of the human race.

Kentucky enjoys high respect and honorable consideration throughout the Union and throughout the civilized world; but, in my humble opinion, no title which she has to the esteem and admiration of mankind, no deeds of her former glory, would equal, in greatness and grandeur, that of being the pioneer State in removing from her soil every trace of human slavery, and in establishing the descendants of Africa, within her jurisdiction, in the native land of their forefathers.

I have thus executed the promise I made, alluded to in the commencement of this letter; and I hope that I have done it calmly, free from intemperance, and so as to wound the sensibilities of none. I sincerely hope that the question may be considered and decided, without the influence of party or passion. I should be most happy to have the good fortune of coinciding in opinion with a majority of the people of Kentucky; but if there be a majority opposed to all schemes of gradual emancipation, however much I may regret it, my duty will be to bow in submission to their will.

If it be perfectly certain and manifest that such a majority exists, I should think it better not to agitate the question at all, since that, in that case, it would be useless, and might exercise a pernicious collateral influ-

ence upon the fair consideration of other amendments which may be proposed to our Constitution. If there be a majority of the people of Kentucky, at this time, adverse to touching the institution of slavery, as it now exists, we, who had thought and wished otherwise, can only indulge the hope that, at some future time, under better auspices, and with the blessing of Providence, the cause which we have so much at heart may be attended with better success.

In any event I shall have the satisfaction of having performed a duty to the State, to the subject, and to myself, by placing my sentiments permanently upon record.

With great regard, I am your friend and obedient servant, H. CLAY.

Richard Pindell, Esq.

(From the London Spectator.)

THE COMING CHANGE IN ANTI-SLAVE-TRADE MOVEMENTS.

Economy will now enforce those arguments that prove the utterly useless and mischievous character of the West African blockade, and signs are not wanting of the next turn which opinion on that subject is destined to take.

Lieutenant W. T. F. Jackson, who has just returned from the coast, promulgates through the columns of the *Times* his clear and direct testimony to the futility of the attempt to keep down the slave trade by a blockade or any other form of armed prevention.

Viewing the slave traffic merely as an illicit trade, which government vessels have to suppress, it is a well known axiom in our custom house that any contraband trade yielding 30 per cent. cannot be stopped; for such is human nature, that individuals will always be found willing to risk the severest punishment for that amount of profit. Are the philanthropists in England aware of the profit of a single slave? The average price of a slave on the coast is a doubloon, or 3*l.* 8*s.*, supposing that a slave is paid for in coin instead of goods, which form generally the greatest part of the purchase—then there is profit on profit again. This slave, on being landed in the Brazils, is, since our blockade, worth from 50*l.* to 70*l.*; leaving a percentage, after all deductions of goods and agency, far, far above the custom house standard. A few years ago, a slave merchant made a considerable profit if one vessel in three landed her cargo. Now, owing to the large force we maintain on the coast, they have been able to raise their prices, so that if a merchant has six vessels on the venture, and one escapes, he is amply repaid. For this I have the authority of the slave captains and the slave factors themselves. I have been repeatedly told by the captains of slavers and the factors on shore, that if we gave up the blockade they must give up business. It is true, we have in some measure deterred the small trader, the petty trafficker in human flesh, from pursuing his avocations, because, perhaps, the capture of one or two ships might ruin him; but we have put the trade on a larger scale, and the great Rio traders carry on their business in a gigantic manner compared with their operations previous to the blockade.

Mr. Jackson suggests, that instead of throwing away three millions sterling a year on the blockade, we should increase our colonies and spread our influence among the African chiefs.

Formerly, during Governor Turner's time, we held the sovereignty from Sierra Leone to Gallinas; but, owing to some false economy, we withdrew our protection and lost our authority. I would rather hold up Liberia as an example to our government than offer my own remarks; the Americans have established a colony, and from that spread north and south from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, between which places slavery is now hardly known. When we look upon this handful of people, unprotected by their own gov-

ernment, alone and unaided, and consider what they have done, I think we may well blush at the futility of our own efforts.

We find concurrent ideas in a different quarter; an intelligent writer in the *Morning Post* propounds a plan of economizing the expenditure of money and life, by more generally substituting African for European soldiers in the West Indies. He points to the fidelity and orderly conduct of the African troops, and to their successful employment in guarding several of our colonies, besides the extra-colonial trading settlement of Balize and the African colony of Sierra Leone; and he proposes to employ a similar force as a military constabulary in the West Indies, with a sort of landwehr formed out of the same materials. His plan is—

1. A concentration of the West India regiments on two stations, Jamaica and Barbadoes; withdrawing the detached portions on the coast of Africa, and raising a force especially for that colony.

2. An organized system of recruiting in Sierra Leone; first, by volunteering from the local regiments to the West India regiments; secondly, by careful selection of men in the emancipation-yard from captured cargoes of slaves.

3. A drafting of the older and steady soldiers from the West India regiments, after three to five years service, into the island *constabularies*.

4. And, as their services ran out, placing these men on the roll-call of the island militia, and locating them in *districts* on crown lands, so as to be brought into active service on any emergency.

This plan is thrown out in conjunction with a larger plan to be described hereafter, for "a comprehensive system of transport between the Western coast of Africa and the West India Islands;" in other words, the writer is advocating a plan for putting the African coast and the West Indies in a state of close and constant communication.

These ideas will be familiar to our readers, as suggestions for attaining the objects of all anti slavery proceedings by a more intelligible, safe, and efficacious way than the blockade. For whatever kind of labor in the West Indies, whether for defence or agriculture, the negro is better fitted by constitution than the European; but he can attain to his civilized development best, in the field of agriculture or arms, when officered by Europeans; and it is in the West Indies that the two races meet on the most favorable conditions. It is through the West Indies, therefore, that Africa has the best chance of civilization; elevate her races above a condition which is on a level with that of slaves in the colonies of Europe, and you cut off the supply of slaves; thus extinguishing the traffic at its very source. That you can do so by any process of converting the African chiefs, is hopeless; you have no channel to reach their understanding or their heart. But by developing our colonies on the coast, we might so extend our example and influence as to Anglicize Western Africa. Now that operation would be incalculably assisted by the help of the West Indies, a training school for the negro; who might be invited, by many advantageous plans, to return to his native continent as a settler. On the other hand, you cannot drain the West Indies of their negro population without recruiting it from Africa; and that could best be done by the help of extensive settlements on the African coast. The negro population of that region would form the best recruiting-depots for the West Indies; the West Indies would be the best training-school for the African settlements; the joint operation demands an extensive system of transport and retransport. Such a system would call into existence a widely-spread community of intelligent free blacks, the fittest for labor and action in the tropical lands of the Atlantic; but that population would be wedded to England and her institutions, as the great safe-guard of negro freedom.

(From the Hagerstown News.)

FREE SOIL SYMPATHY.—Jesse Oxendine, a free colored man, of Columbia, S. C., being desirous of living in a free State, recently sold off all his property, amounting to several thousand dollars, and with his family removed to Ohio, where he purchased a house, and intended to remain. The Columbia Telegraph however, says:

He found it impossible, however, to obtain any work, his applications being always answered by the statement, that they preferred *white labor there*, and that *Liberia* was the place for him.

Wearied and disgusted, he wrote back at last that he wished to return, but was warned by the gentleman who had acted as his guardian, that he could not legally do so, and that if he did, he would be sold as a slave—the policy of the State prohibiting such return. He wrote word back that *he would prefer being a slave on any Southern plantation to being a free man at the North*—and actually did return a few days since. He was immediately arrested and taken into custody—but expresses himself perfectly satisfied to get back on any terms.

His Northern friends have stripped him bare of all he carried off, as he has returned perfectly destitute.

AFRICA.

The following communication, from the Rev. J. Payne, has already appeared in one of our religious journals, the Calendar. To give it more extended circulation, and to preserve it for future reference, we make room for it in our columns.

CAVALLA, near Cape Palmas, West Africa, July 20, 1848.

RT. REV. T. C. BROWNELL, Bishop of the Prot. Epis. Church in the Diocese of Connecticut.

RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR:

The object for which I write to you, and my apology for so doing, will, it is hoped, sufficiently appear in the following pages.

The fact that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S., of which you are one of the Chief Shepherds, and I am an unworthy minister, has in her highest capacity, recognized, and, by her contributions and labors, sustained, for twelve years, a mission in Western Africa, obviously evinces a serious wish and purpose to bear some humble part in evangelizing this great continent.

While, however, this much is manifest, it has ever been to me a source of regret—only increased by growing observation and experience—that the plan and conduct of this and other foreign missions of the Church, have never sufficiently engaged the attention of those best qualified to advise and direct. In primitive times Apostles certainly took the lead in planting the Gospel standard amongst the heathen, and in watching over and building up the infant churches gathered through their instrumentality. But in our day, this most important work has been left to young men, fresh from their theological studies, without worldly or ministerial experience. In the case of this mission, but for the unexpected offer of the services of the Rev. Dr. Savage, who, to a medical profession, united more age than the rest, the interests would have been entrusted entirely to the discretion and indiscretion of two young deacons.

Even, however, in the absence of apostolic example, it would appear to be sufficiently evident, that, in the work of spreading successfully the gospel in the various fields to which the church has sent her ministers, there is

ample scope for the exercise of the maturest judgment, the ripest experience, as well as wisest and most vigorous action. In Greece, in Turkey, in China and Africa, how widely different are the fields of labor, and, consequently, how different the agencies and instruments requisite to their most successful cultivation! And yet, Rt. Rev. Sir, is it not true that the peculiar features of the missions in each of these countries have been the result of the peculiar views and plans of the missionaries employed in them, rather than of the church which sends them?

What has been the effect of this system on other missions it is not for me, of course, to judge. I would fain hope that the superior wisdom of brethren connected with them, has saved *these* from the consequences naturally resulting from it. But in this mission, while we have much reason for devout gratitude, in the measure of success vouchsafed to it, I am well persuaded that its operations have been rendered less efficient by the cause just adverted to. Nor is it with any feelings of complacency, either as regards myself or the church, whose minister I am, that, after eleven years' service in the field, I feel it necessary to call your attention to measures, which appear to me necessary to the success and permanence of the African mission.

As before observed, it appears reasonable, that the plan of missionary effort should be modified by the peculiarities of the people whom it is designed to affect. Were I a missionary in China, I should be strongly inclined, like Gutzlaff, to go down at once amongst the people, acquire their language, spread the gospel in it, gather around me disciples, and from these, properly called and authorized, of course, select and send forth laborers to preach and distribute the word of life. Now, the people are educated—literary, and therefore ripe for their plan of operations, just as were the Jews, Romans, and Greeks, in apostolic times. And, therefore, instruction in the faith of the gospel, and the influences of the Holy Spirit, would seem alone wanting to raise up, from the present generation of Chinese, Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers.

Here, the materials to be operated upon are entirely different. The natives of the west coast of Africa, are not only deeply sunk in vice and superstition, but they have no written language, and, of course, no books—no schools. To raise them from such degradation must be the work of generations. I would not limit the power of God, which I pray daily may be manifested in the conversion of the adult population, while I pray, preach and labor for this end. But, guided by the light of the past, all intelligent minds must agree that the moral renovation of such a people involves a long, systematic, and toilsome work. The language must be reduced to writing, schools established, the Word of God and other religious books translated, and distributed, e'er the blessings of Christianity can be permanently secured to these people. It is obvious that, in order to the accomplishment of these objects, an adequate supply of well-qualified ministers and teachers must be provided. And the important question arises, whence are these to be obtained?

Will the church in the United States furnish them? I think that facts show that she will not. During the twelve years of this mission's existence, *twenty* white laborers, male and female, have been connected with it. Of these, there remain in the field, at the present moment, myself, the only clergyman, with my wife and Dr. Perkins, making *three in all!* Some have died, and others have withdrawn on account of ill health, or different reasons. But as these causes are likely to be permanent, it is proper to judge of the future by the past, which fully sustains the opinion just expressed, that the wants of the mission are not to be supplied from the church at home.

There appears to me to be quite as little prospect of an *immediate* supply of suitable *native* agents. The view has been expressed, that in China, such an agency may reasonably be hoped for, from the present generation. But this is based upon the idea, that the Chinese are the Romans of existing Heathendom. 'However this may be, it is very certain that the *people of India* are very much superior to those of Africa. And yet, after generations of missionary toil, what is the result, so far as an adequate supply of superintendents and clergymen is concerned? In one of his communications, written, I think, in 1846, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta declared his conviction, that from *future generations* alone, was there any reasonable hope of obtaining a competent native agency for that field. 'A fortiori,' there is *less* prospect here.

There remains but one other source to which we can look for suitable instruments to sustain this mission. And this, in the Providence of God, is immediately at hand. It is the American Colony, within whose bounds our operations are confined. To some it may appear unaccountable that the same advantage should not raise to a like standard the heathen and the Christian child. But not so to those who have carefully observed the gradual steps by which barbarous nations advance to Christian civilization. The process resembles that by which infancy attains to the maturity of manhood. It has its childhood and its youth, with all attending imperfections; and as it is only *men* who are qualified to be guides and instructors, so it is found that heathen nations, even after they have been converted, must pass through their childhood and youth, before they furnish characters of sufficient maturity to be entrusted with their spiritual care. Now the Americo-African Colonists having been long living under the influences of Christian civilization, have passed through the stages of childhood and youth. They are struggling rapidly into *manhood*. With all the disadvantages to which their social condition subjected them in the U. S., they are, to say the least, a century in advance of their heathen neighbors. Moreover, by constitution they are adapted to the climate, and what is of still greater consequence, here is their and their children's *home*. The latter will grow up here, and by constant intercourse with the natives, become perfectly familiar with their languages and customs. Now it is from amongst these children that I would have the church train up her teachers and ministers for Africa. Colonists already fill every civil office in Liberia, the higher ones, most ably; why should they not also, in time, fill all in the church?

Perfectly satisfied of the practicability of this scheme myself, both from observation and partial experiment in our mission, in a communication to the Foreign Committee, published in the March No. of the Spirit of Missions for this year, to which you are respectfully referred, I proposed for their consideration, the propriety of our opening, as soon as practicable, at Mt. Vaughan, a High School, or Seminary, for the exclusive purpose of training colonist youths for teachers, superintendents of schools, and clergymen in the mission. They were pleased to express their concurrence in my views, and their disposition to put it in our power to carry the proposed plan into execution, as soon as circumstances would permit. In order, however, to this, there are two pre-requisites, and it is to these Rt. Rev. Sir, that it is the special object of this communication to call your attention.

First. It is necessary that scholarships shall be created in the United States, for the purpose of supporting these youths while in the seminary, and (provided a place be obtained for them) for a short time afterwards, at some institution at home.

Second. That arrangement shall be made for completing their education at some college in the United States. The necessity of the first of these

provisions results from the manner in which the missions of the church, and especially the African mission, has been supported. The general contributions have been barely sufficient to support the missionaries and to defray the contingent expenses of the mission, while the scholarships raised have been all those of twenty dollars each, and designed exclusively for natives. The expense of maintaining colonist youths in the seminary will be, of course, much greater than that required for natives, though, on comparison, it will appear somewhat small to what is necessary for beneficiaries in the United States. The average amount for each scholar, while in the seminary, need not exceed \$150. In the event of an arrangement being made for their spending two or more years in the United States, a larger amount would, of course, be necessary. But if what has been said of the importance of the instrumentality proposed here to be raised up, be correct, would it not be wisdom and true economy, for some of the friends of the African mission, who now support candidates for the ministry, to apply their benefactions to this purpose? May I, Rt. Rev. Sir, commend this project to your most serious consideration?

The propriety of the second measure recommended, may not, perhaps, at first view be quite so apparent. It is a very common, but, as I hope to show, a very erroneous opinion, that in a state of low morals, and intellectual attainments, the most limited qualifications are all that is requisite in those appointed to elevate and instruct. Hence the idea, that the most inferior instruments answer well enough for Africa. Fatal mistake! It might convince those entertaining it, of the incorrectness of this view, to reflect that, whether we regard the physical, intellectual or moral world, it is in the difficulties overcome, that the highest talents have been most effectually developed and remarkably displayed. Where has science achieved her proudest triumph? Has it not been where nature has opposed her most formidable obstacles? What were the circumstances, characters and condition of things, which called forth, and most strikingly displayed, the moral and intellectual grandeur of Hannah More; of Wilberforce; of Howard, and others? And where have the noblest powers of our nature shone more brightly than in those numerous systems and plans, by which (I quote with reverence) 'the *blind* receive their sight, and the *lame* walk—and the *deaf* hear,' and the *dumb* speak?

But the incorrectness of the opinion which I am combating may be shown by a test, within the reach of every one. Where is there uniformly the most perfect absence of all desire for knowledge and improvements? Is it not where there is the greatest ignorance and degradation? Proofs of this may be found in every Christian country; but, perhaps the most striking are presented by the heathen in general, and particularly those of Africa. These appear to manifest no interest in anything beyond their small tribe, or such relations as grow out of the intercourse with others necessary to supply the wants of nature. They are perfectly satisfied with the knowledge derived from their fathers, and to be the greatest man in the little village in which he lives, is the highest object of any one's ambition.

Now, as you are aware, most of the colonists come to this country without the first rudiments of an education. This is no reflection on them, for it is the result of circumstances, over which they had no control. It is only referred to because of its influence on the general state of education in the Colony. That influence is naturally and necessarily a depressing one.—Parents cannot feel much interest in securing to their children advantages which they have never known or appreciated themselves; and children have little motive to improvement, when the lowest attainments elevate them above the general mass. It is just what might be expected, under the cir-

cumstances, that the rising generation should, as they actually do, rest satisfied, with the mere elements of education. What is the remedy for this state of things? Obviously, the creation of such a standard as will have a tendency to excite the desire for, and call forth the effort necessary to obtain more thorough education. But if it is to be effected through colonists, (which is the only feasible plan,) those designed to be the instruments, in order to be qualified for their work, must be placed in circumstances calculated to elevate their standard of attainment, and to move them to exertion. Such circumstances do not at present exist in Africa. There are, it is true, a few men at Cape Palmas, and in the other colonies, who have received liberal, some of them collegiate educations, in the United States; and their influence, so far as it goes, is of the right sort. But their number is too small to create a public sentiment. This is, as before stated, far from elevating; and when to this is added the influence of daily intercourse with a teeming heathen population, in and around the Colony, and that of an enervating climate, I trust you will see sufficient reason for my second proposition.

In reflecting upon all the bearings of the subject, it has appeared to me, that Trinity College, Hartford, is the place, at which there is most prospect of making the desired arrangement. Your past interest in the cause of Africa, the fact that Mr. Hanson was enabled to complete his studies at Hartford, the location and entirely Episcopal character of Trinity College, are the considerations which have led me to this conclusion, and which I now offer, Rt. Rev. Sir, as my apology for submitting this matter for your consideration in the premises. If, however, you, or other friends approving of the plan, shall effect an arrangement at some more suitable place, the end being attained, I shall be happy. Considering, however, that many colleges of our country have received, and blessed with their privileges, colored persons, from time to time, it will be humiliating indeed, that no arrangement should be made in our church for so humane, and, at the same time, so important an object.

Praying that the Holy Spirit may guide you, and all others who may be concerned in this matter, I remain, Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir, very respectfully,

Yours, &c.

J. PAYNE.

(From the Spirit of Missions.)

AFRICA.

Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. J. Payne—1848.

Wednesday, August 23rd.—Attended this morning the examination of the colonial school at Mount Vaughan. This was postponed a month, in consequence of the late scarcity of food, which prevented the children from attending school punctually. The colonists have been almost as great sufferers as the natives; and indeed, have been only enabled to live by eating the cabbage obtained from the palm tree. In the good providence of God, rice is now again coming in; the hungry ones receive their daily bread, and are enabled to attend school as before. Fifty-one presented themselves to-day for examination. In view of the injurious influence of the famine just adverted to, the attainments of the children were highly creditable. In looking over these little girls, I could but feel, as I always have on similar occasions, a grateful joy in view of the contrast between their present privileges and what they would have been had not their parents emigrated to this country.

Sunday, Sept. 3rd.—Our native congregation this morning numbered about 150. In the afternoon administered the Lord's Supper, to 27 communicants.

Sunday, Sept. 24th.—The native congregation this morning was larger than it has been lately, numbering at least 170. There were more women also present than usual. Amongst these latter was a very fine looking one from Cape Lahoo, who has accompanied her people on their annual visit to the Grand Devil, at Hidieh, in the Babo tribe, near this place. This yearly pilgrimage of 150 miles, is a remarkable illustration of the influence of mere distance in perpetuating superstition. The Greboes and other tribes in the vicinity of the Babo oracle are convinced that it is a gross imposition, while on either side, to the distance of 100 to 150 miles along the coast, its responses are most zealously sought, and relied upon with the most implicit confidence.

Thursday, Sept. 28th.—The quarterly examination of the schools at this station was held. A considerable number of children are still absent, who were sent to their parents during the prevalence of the late scarcity of food.

Sunday, October 1st.—Congregation this morning was about the same as on last Sunday. Mrs. Payne was able to attend public services, after having been prevented from so doing for three months past, by indisposition. In the afternoon I administered the Lord's Supper to 28 communicants.

FROM CAPE PALMAS.

We are permitted to make extracts from a private letter, written at "Harper, Cape Palmas, November 20, 1848," and addressed to the writer's daughter in this city. The writer is a coloured woman. The letter is written with manifest frankness and confidence, and was not intended for any other person than the one addressed. Nevertheless, we give almost the entire letter, omitting only one or two sentences strictly personal, because, from such unreserved and familiar correspondence, can the best judgment be formed of the real condition of the colony. The writer of the letter is just in that position in which the vast majority of the emigrants will be placed, and her experiences and impressions are those which others may expect to pass through. The letter runs thus, except in the matter of orthography and the occasional reconstruction of a sentence. There is no mistaking the sex of the writer.—*Commercial Advertiser.*

"I have arrived safe in Cape Palmas, and am much pleased with the place, and also with the manner in which I was received. I was treated with great kindness by all on board the vessel, and have been treated well since I have been here. I have received a great deal of kindness from the government, who have found me with provisions for six months—coffee, tea, sugar, flour, cooking utensils, and every thing necessary for me. After that if the good Lord should spare my life, I shall move into my own house, which will then be built for me.

"When you come, bring out every thing you possibly can—chairs, tables, bedsteads, bedding, and all the house furniture; also, cheap calico or muslin, leaf tobacco, ladies' shoes and hose, silk gloves, pocket handkerchiefs, lace edging, sewing cotton on spools, (we pay 12½ cents for a spool,) sewing silks, bobinet, for sale, for all these things are very dear here. Also, please to bring a fashionable hat for a lady, one that will cost from three to nine dollars, and of straw. Bring me also a lace cap, and as many for sale as you can. They will sell well here.

"You are very much wanted here, and so is Lewis. Tell my sister, and

all of her and my friends, that if they want to be a people, they must come out here; this is the place for them. It requires industry to live here. It is altogether different from what is said of the Colonization Society. It is better than we could think.

[Here follows a paragraph of remembrances and expressions of affection, that do credit to the writer's heart.]

"When you come, bring out as many fresh garden seeds and garden herbs of all kinds as you can; and *particularly some ribbon*. I had forgotten to name it.

"Cape Palmas is a very pretty place; and when you come out, by no means be persuaded to stop at Monrovia. The people there will try very hard to keep you.

"The people here that have gone through the fever, seem to enjoy very good health; and generally speaking, look as well as any other people, and are as generally prosperous."

BALTIMORE, *April 2d*, 1849.

DR. JAS. HALL,

Sir—I acknowledge the receipt of donations to the Society, and subscriptions to the Journal, for the month of March, from the following persons:

N. Monsarrat,	\$ 1 00	S. J. Soper & Co.	\$ 1 00
J. C. Rau,	2 00	Schneider & Co.	1 00
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Geo. R. Vickers,	1 00		
J. M. Girvin,	1 00	Total,	\$84 00
Isaiah Mankin,	1 00		

Yours, with high respect,

JNO. W. WELLS, *Trav'g Agent*.

TERMS.

This Journal is published Monthly, and is furnished to Subscribers at \$1 per year, whether sent by mail or otherwise. All profits arising from its publication are applied to advance the general purposes of the society.

§3- All Communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal, or on business of the Society, should be addressed to Dr. JAMES HALL, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.

Printed by John D. Toy, corner of St. Paul and Market streets, Baltimore.

